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DOCUMENTS

Papers of Zebulon M. Pike, 1806-1807.

THE accompanying papers are some of those taken in 1807 from Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike by the Spanish authorities at Chihuahua while Pike, who had been arrested during his exploring expedition up the Missouri and Arkansas rivers, was in captivity in that city. The originals are preserved at the City of Mexico in the archive of the Secretariat of Foreign Relations. They are filed in *caxa* 1817-1824 of "Asuntos Internacionales" in a bundle marked "Boundaries. Concerning the search for, and delivery to the boundary Commission of, the documents which were taken from the traveller Paike."¹ This bundle, in turn, is enclosed within the *carpeta* of an *expediente* marked "1824. The United States. Treaties. Concerning the fixing of the boundaries between Mexico and the United States in conformity with the third article of the treaties of Washington dated February 22, 1819."²

From the correspondence filed with his papers we learn that when Pike was taken before Don Nemecio Salcedo, commandant-general of the Internal Provinces, the small chest in which he carried his papers was opened and all of those which related to his expedition were confiscated, a list of the documents being made and the documents themselves numbered to correspond with it.³ We learn also the circumstances under which the papers found their way to Mexico. These were as follows: On September 21, 1827, Don Miguel Ramos Arispe, Minister of the Department of Justice of the federal government, and president of the commission appointed to determine the boundary between the United States and Mexico, wrote to the Minister of Relations that he thought it probable that the papers taken from "the traveller Paike" might be at Chihuahua in the archive of the old commandancy-general, and asked that they be searched for, and, if found, put at the disposal of the boundary

¹ "Límites. Sobre busca y entrega á la Comisión de límites de los documentos q. se tomaron al viagero Paike."

² "1824. Estados Unidos. Tratados. Sobre que se fijen los límites entre Mexico y los Estados Unidos con arreglo al Artículo 3º de los tratados de Washington de Febrero de 1819."

³ See the affidavit of Francisco Velasco and Juan Pedro Walker to the list, given below, page 810.

commission.⁴ The request was at once referred to Simon Elías, governor of Chihuahua,⁵ and by him, in turn, to José de Zuloaga, *comisario* of that state, and custodian of the archive of the comandancy-general.⁶ After some delay the papers were found in the archive designated, and, on October 20, they were transmitted by Zuloaga to the governor,⁷ who, three days later, despatched them to Mexico, together with the original list made when the papers had been confiscated.⁸ On November 21 a receipt for all of the papers was signed by the Minister of Relations.⁹ A copy of the list was at once made, and the original list returned to Chihuahua. On the same day, November 21, the papers were sent to Arispe,¹⁰ who returned them, in their entirety, clearly, on January 24, 1828.¹¹

The list of papers confiscated, which is printed below, is identical with that which Pike printed in his classical narrative.¹² Of the twenty-one pieces named in the list, the first eighteen, still bearing the numbers given them in 1807, were found in the bundle cited above. No. 21 was found in another part of the same archive, and has been placed with the others. Where nos. 19 and 20 are—the most important of all, evidently—there is nothing to show, but it is not improbable that some day they may be found in another archive, or, possibly, in private hands. No. 21 is a valuable document, but its form renders it unsuitable for printing here. One of its titles—it has one at each end—is “Book, Containing Meteorological Observations, Courses and Chart of part of the Mississippi, Missouri and Osage Rivers, with the route by land from the Osage Nation, taken by Lt. Z. M. Pike in the years 1805 and 06, being part of a compleate survey which he made of the Mississippi river from St. Louis Louisiana to its Source.” The other title is “Book, Containing Traverse Table and Chart of part of the Mississippi, Missouri and Osage Rivers, with the route by Land from the Osage Towns, taken by Lieut Z. M. Pike in the year 1805 and 06, being part of a Compleate Survey which he made of the Mississippi River

⁴ Arispe to the Minister of Relations, September 21, 1827.

⁵ Minister of Relations to the governor of Chihuahua, September 22, 1827. Minute.

⁶ Governor Simon Elías to the Minister of Relations, October 8, 1827.

⁷ Zuloaga to Governor Elías, October 20, 1827.

⁸ Elías to the Minister of Relations, October 23, 1827.

⁹ Minute of this date.

¹⁰ The Minister of Relations to Arispe, November 21.

¹¹ Arispe to the Minister of Relations, January 24, 1828.

¹² *An Account of Expeditions to the Sources of the Mississippi, and through the Western Parts of Louisiana* (Philadelphia, 1810), appendix to part III., pp. 80-82.

from St. Louis to its Source." The contents of this book may be summarized as follows:

1. Eleven quarto pages of meteorological observations covering the period from August, 1805, to March 2, 1807, the date of Pike's arrival at Santa Fé. From these tables we learn that in October, 1805, Pike was on the "Mississippi above the falls of St. Anthony". On August 20, 1806, he was "Between the Osage Towns", on September 27, at the "Panis Republic", and on November 30, at the "Foot of the Mexican Mountains".

2. Twenty-eight pages of traverse tables, covering the period stated above. In these tables there are separate columns for date, course, distance, shores, rivers, islands, rapids, and for remarks on mines, quarries, timber, bars, creeks, shoals, etc.

3. Twenty-five section maps, covering fifteen pages, of the Mississippi River above St. Louis, and about an equal number, covering thirty-two pages, of Pike's route from St. Louis to Santa Fé. The first set is in ink, with the addition of colors, the second in black ink only. They are executed with considerable care, and are well preserved. They contain, besides information concerning Pike's route, valuable data in regard to geographical names and to settlements of both whites and Indians. Whoever undertakes a new edition of Pike's narrative will probably wish to incorporate reproductions of all the maps in this book.

Some of the papers bear numbers other than those given them by the authorities at Chihuahua to correspond with the list. These numbers may be Pike's or those of some archive series.

HERBERT E. BOLTON.

THREE of the papers discovered by Professor Bolton were printed by Pike from other copies. No. 1, General Wilkinson's instructions of June 24, 1806 (supplemented by additional instructions of July 12), appeared in Pike's book, *An Account*, etc., pp. 107-109 (Coues, p. 562), and is also printed in *American State Papers, Miscellaneous*, I. 564 and 943. Nevertheless, it is here printed again, from the manuscript found in Mexico, for convenience of reference in connection with the other documents here presented. No. 4, Wilkinson to Pike, August 6, 1806, warning him of Manuel de Lisa's commercial projects, and telling him how to correct his watch by the quadrant, is in the appendix to part II. of Pike, pp. 38-40 (Coues, pp. 573-576). No. 7, Pike to General Wilkinson, July 22, 1806, telling him of the first days' events of the expedition, and discussing what he should do if he found himself near the

Spaniards of Santa Fé, is in the same appendix, pp. 33-35 (Coues, pp. 568-572). It has not been thought needful to repeat nos. 4 and 7. No. 12 is a very rough pencilled sketch, extending to the Grand Osage and Little Osage villages. It is quite superseded by the finished chart which Pike inserted in his book. No. 18 is still rougher, though in ink, and is drawn on a still smaller scale, so that though it extends to Santa Fé, no useful conclusions can be drawn from it.

The chronological order of the papers herein printed is: Nos. 9, 1, 10, 17, 2, 3, 14, 15, 16, 13, 8, 5, 6, 18, 11.

Interesting as the newly discovered papers are to the student of Pike's expedition and of the history of Western exploration, it is natural to feel at first sight some disappointment that they advance so little toward its solution the problem of the real destination of Pike. Did Wilkinson send him out with the definite intention that he should stray into Spanish territory, should be seized by the Spanish authorities, should see all that he could of their provinces, and report his observations of those forbidden lands to his commanding officer, as an aid to the ulterior designs of that commander or of the government of the United States? It was not to be expected that, if such were Wilkinson's plans, he should leave documentary evidences of them in his agent's possession, to be captured with him. Nevertheless it is impossible to resist the temptation, to profit by the occasion of the discovery of these papers to review once more the evidences of indirection, or at any rate to bring forward such new evidences regarding the government's supposed complicity as may be found in the archives of Washington despite the enthusiastic researches of Coues.

The chief reasons which have been advanced for suspecting Wilkinson and Pike of duplicity in connection with the expedition are the following: The relations of the United States to Spain were strained; it is apparent from Wilkinson's letter of November 26, 1805 (Coues, p. 564, note), that he deemed war probable, and in case of war looked forward to a campaign against New Mexico. In the second place, we have the affidavit of Judge Timothy Kibby of the district of St. Charles in Upper Louisiana, sworn to by him July 6, 1807, in which he says:¹³

¹³ This affidavit went the rounds of the newspapers of the time (Colonel Meline quotes a part of it from the *Mississippi Herald* of September 15, 1807), and was several times mentioned in Burr's trial as a well-known document. On that occasion Wilkinson characterized it as "replete with falsehoods"; *American State Papers, Miscellaneous*, I. 548. Dr. Isaac J. Cox of the University of Cincinnati has found an original copy of Kibby's affidavit in the collections of the

I also had a conversation with Genl. Wilkinson concerning Lt. Pikes Expedition to the westward which was nearly as follows. a few Days previous to the departure of Lt. Pike I asked the Genl what was the object of the expedition and where Mr Pike was going. he smiled and said it was of a *secret nature*, but if I would give him my word and honour to keep it a secret, he would give me some information on the subject which he had done only to one person in the Territory. I assented to the proposition and the Genl. observed that Lt. Pike was yet ignorant of the nature of his journey, that his object [*a few words or a line omitted*] that his rout would be by Land from the Osage Towns in order to treat with several Nations of Indians by which he would pass. I asked the Genl. if Mr. Pike was sent by the Government of the United States. he replied no that it was his own (the Genl.) Plan and if Mr. Pike suckseeded he the Genl. would be placed out of the reach of his enemies and that in the course of eighteen months he would be in a situation (if the plan suckseeded) to call his Damnd foes to an a/c [account] for their Deeds. I asked the Genl. if he did not apprehend danger from the Spaniards, knowing their jealous disposition, on Mr. Pikes account with a party of American Soldiers at Santa fee. he answered that Mr. Pike and his party would have documents to shew which would make them as safe as at Philadelphia.

Thirdly, Pike in his letter of July 22 (*Account*, app. to part II., p. 35; Coues, p. 572), discusses with some freedom the chance of his meeting the Spaniards, and admits the possibility of his being taken into Santa Fé as a prisoner of war; and in his letter of October 2 (Coues, p. 588), he discusses with similar freedom the military approaches to New Mexico. Fourthly, even though he mistook the upper waters of the Rio Grande for those of the Red River, as he maintained that he did, the stockade which the Spaniards found him occupying was on the west or Spanish side of the river. Fifthly, it is unlikely that Dr. Robinson would have been allowed so quietly to leave the stockade and set out for Santa Fé alone, if so little were known of the party's position with respect to that town; and the claims which he went ostensibly to prosecute are admitted by Pike to have been "in some degree spurious *in his hands*". Why had they been brought all the way from St. Louis

Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, Gano Papers, III. 49, and, with Miss L. Belle Hamlin, librarian of the society, has kindly supplied the transcript from which the above extract is taken.

They have also called my attention to the statement of Joseph H. Daveiss, in his *View of the President's Conduct* (Frankfort, Ky., 1807), p. 21. In St. Louis, in May, 1806, he says, he and Wilkinson were talking of Pike's exploring expedition up the Mississippi. "After which, he [Wilkinson] took out a map of the country of New Mexico, which I think was in manuscript; and after some conversation about it, tapping it with his finger, told me in a low and very significant tone and manner, that had Burr been president, we would have had all this country before now." Similar intimations are to be found in Major Bruff's testimony in Burr's trial; *American State Papers, Miscellaneous*, I. 573, 575.

if there were not from the first a thought of going to Santa Fé? Sixthly, there is Pike's chicanery about his baggage and papers, after his arrest. Finally, we may reasonably pay some attention to the testimony given before the committee of the House of Representatives by Colonel John Ballenger, brother of the Sergeant Joseph Ballenger of the expedition and of document no. 13. In a conversation between the two brothers, so the committee report,¹⁴

The said Joseph informed him that he was in company with Captain Pike in his last exploring tour; that, having left Captain Pike somewhere on the head waters of the Arkansas, he returned to Louisiana; that very shortly after his return, he went into the Spanish provinces; that during all this time he was employed in furtherance of a Spanish project, but did not intimate that Captain Pike had any knowledge, or was at all privy to the said project, or to *his* being engaged therein, and spoke in high terms of Captain Pike. The nature of the project in which the said Joseph was employed, or by whom he was employed, is foreign, (as your committee believe), from the subject consigned to them, and, of course, its detail is omitted in this report.

In the debate in the House, Rowan of Kentucky disclosed more fully the nature of the testimony, which was to the effect that Sergeant Ballenger, a friend of Burr, had engaged two or three Indian tribes to join the latter in his famous expedition.¹⁵

On the other hand, before looking at further evidence, we may remember that, leaving out of account Wilkinson's instructions, which may have been intended to be captured, his letter of August 6, not so intended, contains nothing to warrant the suspicion; and in Pike's letter of October 24, sent down the Arkansas by the hand of Lieutenant Wilkinson,¹⁶ he speaks simply of pressing forward to the head of the Red River, "where we shall be detained some time, after which nothing shall cause a halt until my arrival at Natchitoches".

What grounds for suspicion the Spaniards perceived is made plain by a variety of letters. Governor Alencaster of New Mexico, in his report of April 1, 1807, to Don Nemesio Salcedo, commandant-general of the Internal Provinces,¹⁷ contents himself with declaring his conviction that the Americans intend, "this year or the next, to establish forts or settlements on all these rivers [the Canadian and the other affluents of the Mississippi], in order to monopolize all the trade" with the Indians. But in a letter of April 15, of which

¹⁴ *American State Papers, Miscellaneous*, I. 719; *Annals of Congress*, 10 Cong., 1 sess., 1767.

¹⁵ *Annals, ibid.*, 1659.

¹⁶ Pike, app. to part II., pp. 39, 51; Coues, pp. 575, 592.

¹⁷ In Colonel James F. Meline's *Two Thousand Miles on Horseback* (New York, 1867), pp. 241-245.

Professor Bolton has lately found a copy in the City of Mexico,¹⁸ Alencaster, after reporting his expectation of an American search-party looking for Pike, and his preparations to meet it, proceeds to tell of suspicious facts which he has learned from "an Anglo-American soldier, who is sick", *i. e.*, one of the privates whose feet and hands had been frozen in the Sangre de Cristo Mountains, and who had remained at Santa Fé while Pike and others were taken on to Chihuahua. When this American, says Alencaster, learned of the sending out of these reconnoitring parties, he told the interpreter that when the Pike expedition set out from St. Louis Wilkinson told Pike "that if Christmas Eve should pass without his return, he should consider him a prisoner of the Spaniards, and should send to look for him. That he should not be concerned although he might be a prisoner for three months. That such were Paiké's orders, and that he heard him speak of this at different times with Rovinson, and that the parties which would be sent out to look for him would be four, of three or four thousand men each."¹⁹ Alencaster had the American brought to his presence to verify this statement.

In "Spanish Notes, vol. II.", in the Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Department of State, are several letters to Secretary Madison from Don Valentin de Foronda, Spanish chargé d'affaires, in which the Spanish suspicions are fully expressed. In a letter of August 22 he says,

It is true the officer declared that he had lost his way. This might be true, but it might equally well be a pretext. The probability is against it. You know, sir, that if such excuses were to suffice, never would a spy be condemned. You should know, sir, that Pike contradicted himself in his declaration: since first he said that Doctor Robinson did not belong to his party, and afterward he declared that he did. The suspicions against this officer were increased by finding in a torn paper a small sketch of the regions between the Missouri and Santa Fé, with information acquired in the said town concerning its population, commerce, etc.

He also comments on the fraudulent character of Dr. Robinson's agency as a collector of debts. In a later note, March 22, 1808, he dilates, in terms that recall the suspicions of Sergeant Buzfuz respecting "chops and tomato sauce", on the fact

That in one of the documents found upon Pike [no. 1], there is talk of Jupiter, of telescopes, of sextants, etc.; that in another [no. 4] there is renewed mention of the said planet and of its satellites, and that

¹⁸ In Secretaría de Guerra, Archivo General, Sección Varios Asuntos, leg. 1787-1806, ff. 158-160.

¹⁹ The whole army of the United States then consisted of 3200 men; Private Dougherty was thawing out.

there is repeated mention of Miranda; all which causes me to believe that it is a cipher, and that the apprehensions of Don Nemesio Salcedo were justly aroused by the astronomy which Wilkinson displays in his instructions to Pike, since one cannot fail to have this dilemma: either Pike knows how to make astronomical observations or he does not: if he does, Wilkinson's lesson is useless to him; if he does not, so brief an instruction could do him no good.²⁰

He further recounts, from a declaration made by one of the soldiers of the party, that when some of them "asked Pike where they were going, since they were already in Spanish territory, he replied that they should go ahead".

But it is time to turn to the other side, and to seek the statements of Jefferson and Dearborn. We have seen Judge Kibby's report of Wilkinson's statement, that the plan was the general's own, not emanating from the government, but assented to; but distrust of Wilkinson's statements has become canonical. Secretary Dearborn, in his letter to Pike of February 24, 1808,²¹ declares that,

although the two exploring expeditions you have performed were not previously ordered by the President of the United States, there were frequent communications on the subject of each, between General Wilkinson and this Department, of which the President of the United States was, from time to time, acquainted.

In his letter of December 7, 1808, to the chairman of a committee of the House of Representatives,²² he says,

You will perceive that the instructions were given by General Wilkinson; the object, however, of each party, together with the instructions, were communicated to, and approved by, the President of the United States.

Doubtless more value should be attached to statements of the administration not intended for publication. Jefferson writes to Madison, May 24, 1808,²³

I think too that the truth as to Pike's mission might be so simply stated as to need no argument to shew that (even during the suspen-

²⁰ "Que en uno de los documentos que se encontraren á Pike, se habla de Jupiter, de telescopios, de sextantes, etc.: que en otro buelve á hablar de dho. Planeta y de sus satelites, y que de repetite cae sobre Miranda; lo que me hace creer que es una cifra, que debia haber excitado los temores de Dⁿ Nemesio Salcedo la Astronomia que despliega Wilkinson en sus instrucciones á Pike; pues no podía menos de hacer este dilema: ó Pike sabe hacer observaciones astronomicas ó nó: si sabe, no le es util la leccion de Wilkinson; sino, de nada le servia una instruccion tan somera."

²¹ Pike, app. to part III., p. 67 (Coues, p. 844); *American States Papers, Miscellaneous*, I. 944.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 64 (p. 842); I. 942.

²³ Madison Papers, Library of Congress. Ford, IX. 195. A previous letter of August 30, 1807 (*ibid.*, 24), found in both the Jefferson and the Madison Papers, containing statements intended to be sent to Foronda, has not the same force.

sion of our claims to the Eastern border of the rio Norte) his getting on it was mere error, which ought to have called for the setting him right, instead of forcing him through the interior country.

Fuller private statements were made some years later, upon occasion of the posthumous publication of the last volume of Alexander Wilson's *American Ornithology*. That volume contained a biographical sketch of Wilson by George Ord. In the course of it Ord printed a letter of Wilson to Jefferson, February 6, 1806, in which the ornithologist, on hearing "that your Excellency had it in contemplation to send travellers this ensuing summer up the Red River, the Arkansaw and other tributary streams of the Mississippi", offered his services as a man of science. Ord added in a foot-note, "Mr. Wilson was particularly anxious to accompany Pike"; and he commented with much asperity on Jefferson's failure to reply to Wilson's application.²⁴ Upon seeing this statement, in 1818, Jefferson wrote to Wilkinson the following significant letter:²⁵

MONTICELLO June 25. 18.

Dear General

A life so much employed in public as yours has been, must subject you often to be appealed to for facts by those whom they concern—an occasion occurs to myself of asking this kind of aid from your memory and documents. The posthumous volume of Wilson's *Ornithology*, altho' published some time since, never happened to be seen by me until a few days ago. in the account of his life, prefixed to that volume his biographer indulges himself in a bitter invective against me, as having refused to employ Wilson on Pike's expedition to the Arkansa, on which particularly he wished to have been employed. on turning to my papers I have not a scrip of a pen on the subject of that expedition; which convinces me that it was not one of those which emanated from myself; and if a decaying memory does not decieve me I think that it was ordered by yourself from St. Louis, while Governor and military commander there; that it was an expedition for reconnoitring the Indian and Spanish positions which might be within striking distance; that so far from being an expedition admitting a leisurely and scientific examination of the natural history of the country, it's movements were to be on the alert, and too rapid to be accomodated to the pursuits of scientific men; that if previously communicated to the Executive, it was not in time for them, from so great a distance, to have joined scientific men to it; nor is it probable it could be known at all to mr Wilson and to have excited his wishes and expectations to join it. if you will have the goodness to consult your memory and papers on this subject, and to write me the result you will greatly oblige me. . . .

Wilkinson replied as follows:²⁶

August 4th. 1818

Dear Sir

Residing as I do on the right Bank of the Mississippi seven leagues

²⁴ Wilson, *American Ornithology*, vol. IX. (Philadelphia, 1814), pp. 31, 32.

²⁵ Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

below N. Orleans, it is no matter of surprize that your letter, of the 25th. of June, was not received before the 1st. Inst.

I acknowledge the receipt of your letter merely to assure you, that I shall fulfil your desire respecting the explorations of Capt. Pike under my orders, so soon as indispensable daily labour may allow me time, to scrutinize my voluminous correspondence; in the mean time memory authorizes me to declare, that, under a verbal permission from you, before my departure from the seat of government for St. Louis in the spring of 1805, *generally* to explore the borders of the Territory of Louisiana, I did project the expeditions of Capt. Z. M. Pike to the Head of the Mississippi; and after his return from that excursion, to restore to their nation a number of Osage Indians, who had been ransomed under my authority, from the hostile Tribes by whom they had been captured; to make peace between certain Belligerous nations, and if practicable to effect an interview with and conciliate the powerful Bands of I,etaus or Commanchees²⁷ to the United States. He was also instructed by me, to ascertain the extent, direction and navigableness of the Arkansa and Red Rivers, which discharge their waters into the Mississippi.

I recollect to have seen Mr. Wilson, the ornithologist, at Washington in the autumn 1808, and at Charleston S. C. the winter following; I admired his enterprize, perseverance and capacity, and had several conversations with Him concerning the work he had undertaken, which I was desirous to promote with my humble means; He made various enquiries respecting the feathered creation of this region, and instructed me how to preserve in dead Birds their living appearance; But I do not remember that Capt Pike or his expeditions were alluded to, and the details of that unfortunate meritorius young soldiers Western Tour, published by Himself, will best explain its utter inaptitude to the deliberate investigations of the naturalist. . . .

It might possibly be suspected that Jefferson's letter to Wilkinson was an adroit manoeuvre to secure exculpatory evidence from one with whom manoeuvres were necessary, and that anxiety over Ord's statement was but a pretext. Any such suspicion, however, is dispelled by the following correspondence with General Dearborn,²⁸ the first letter being Jefferson's, the second the reply.

MONTICELLO Oct. 27. 18.

Dear General

I never saw till lately the IXth. vol. of Wilson's Ornithology. to this a life of the author is prefixed, by a mr. Ord, in which he has indulged himself in great personal asperity against myself. these things in common I disregard, but he has attached his libel to a book which is to go into all countries and thro all time. he almost makes his heroe die of chagrin at my refusing to associate him with Pike in his expedition to the Arkansa, an expedition on which he says he had particu-

²⁷ The Yuta (Yútawáts) of the upper Platte and Arkansas rivers were variously known to the whites as Utah, Utes, Iatans and Ietans. By misreading this last often becomes Jetans, Ietaus and Tetaus; the name was loosely applied to various tribes, among others to the Comanches.

²⁸ Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

larly set his heart. now I wish the aid of your memory, as to the main fact on which the libel is bottomed, to wit, that Wilson wished to be of that expedition with Pike particularly, and that I refused it. if my memory is right, that was a military expedition, set on foot by General Wilkinson, on his arrival at St. Louis as Governor and Commanding officer, to reconnoitre the country, and to know the positions of his enemies, Spanish and Indian: that it was set on foot of his own authority, without our knolege or consultation; and that being unknown to us until it had departed, it was less likely to be known to Wilson, and to be a thing on which he could have set his heart. I have not among my papers a scrip of a pen on the subject; which is a proof I took no part in it's direction. had I directed it the instructions etc. would have been in my hand writing, and copies in my possession. the truth is this, I believe, after the exploration of the Mississippi by Lewis and Clarke and of the Washita, by Dunbar, we sent Freeman up the Red river; and on his return we meant to have sent an exploring party up the Arkansa, and it was my intention that Wilson should have accompanied that party. but Freeman's journey being stopped by the Spanish authorities, we suspended the mission up the Arkansa to avoid collision with them. will you be so good as to lay your memory and your papers under contribution to set me right in all this?

BOSTON Novemr. 6th. 1818—

Dear Sir,

On the 4th. inst. I had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 29th.²⁹ of October. Pikes expedition for exploring the Arkansa etc., was planed and directed entirely by Genl. Wilkinson, while he was governor and Military commander of upper Louisiana. You had previously contemplated the sending an exploring party on that river but the fate of the party sent up the red river induced a suspension of the expedition on the Arkansa until some explanation could be had with the Spanish authorities in relation to the interruption of the party on the red river, and in the meantime Genl. Wilkinson sent off the expedition under Pike. I recollect that you proposed a Mr. Wilson to be joined to the party that was intended for the Arkansa, and that I suggested a doubt as to the sufficiency of our funds for imploying any one in addition to the number previously proposed, but you thought, that, although our means were small, we might venture to employ Wilson on moderate terms, and if the proposed expedition had been carried into effect, I presume that Mr Wilson would have been attached to the party.

having no papers to assist my memory I can only state the facts according to my best recollections, but I am very certain that you had no agency or direction in Pikes expedition on the Arkansa, and that no exploring party was sent up the Arkansa by your direction.

All this is fortified by some additional bits of evidence which are in print, but which seem hitherto to have escaped notice. Coues³⁰ quotes with apparent approval the statement of Colonel Meline,³¹ that "Wilkinson's bulky and diffuse published memoirs may be searched in vain for any information concerning Pike's

³⁰ P. 1v.

³¹ *Two Thousand Miles*, p. 313.

expedition, and his silence on the subject is, to say the least suggestive." It happens, however, that beside the ordinary edition of Wilkinson's *Memoirs* published in three volumes in 1816, there is a special issue, a "Volume II." thinner than the usual second volume of the series; this Wilkinson brought out separately, in 1811, in order to make early vindication of his conduct in the Burr episode. It has a voluminous appendix of documents, which on hasty inspection might appear to be no other than those contained in the published edition of 1816. No. 48 of the 1811 volume,³² however, was not reprinted, and has apparently not been observed by writers. It is a letter of the general to the Secretary of War, dated August 2, 1806, and sent from the cantonment on the Missouri. The essential portion follows:

You have under cover of No. 2 a copy of Lieutenant Pike's instructions, and of the talk I have sent to White Hair and the Grand Peste, which may, I hope, prove satisfactory. . . . As it depends much on circumstances what course Mr. Pike may take, I cannot decide whether he will return to this place, or descend the Red River to Natchitoches, tho' I know his enterprize will lead him to attempt the last route, and in such case he will certainly be accompanied by a party of I,ya,tan chiefs, whom I would propose to send to the seat of government by sea.

It has been ascertained that no copy of instructions of Wilkinson to Pike is on file in the War Department. Those sent in the letter no. 2 must therefore have been the well-known instructions of June 24, 1806. We are warranted in assuming that when Secretary Dearborn sent to a committee of the House of Representatives his communication of December 7, 1808, he followed the practice of the time by sending with it the instructions, not retaining a copy; and that no other instructions were ever made known to the government at Washington. Whatever opinion we may form as to verbal instructions to Pike from his commanding officer, we may with reasonable security regard the administration as acquitted.

But it is still possible to adduce fresh evidence as to the instructions themselves. Voluminous as are the three volumes of Wilkinson's exculpatory *Memoirs*, it appears that he intended to lay before his patient countrymen still a fourth volume; for there is in existence, though apparently unnoticed in any bibliography or other book, a printed copy of a proposed "Appendix to Volume IV.", in

³² Appendix, pp. 42-45. This edition is rare. There are two copies in the Library of Congress. The same document is printed on pp. 372-378 of *Report of the Committee appointed to inquire into the Conduct of General Wilkinson, February 26, 1811* (Washington, 1811), of which the Library of Congress has a copy, probably unique. Outside of these two rare prints I have not seen this letter anywhere.

which we find a series of "Interrogatories proposed to Major Z. M. Pike", with the sworn replies of that officer, dated November 17, 1808.³³ Among the queries are:

Q. 7. Were you ever directly or indirectly engaged in any meditated military expedition, political project, or agricultural establishment with Aaron Burr?

Q. 8. Did any person ever propose to you any connexion with Aaron Burr, or any one of his partizans, for the promotion of any object of private interest, or of a military or political nature?

To the first of these questions Pike replied, "No, never"; to the second, "No". To the ninth inquiry, as to where he received the first intimation of Burr's treasonable designs, he replied that it was at [near] Chihuahua, in March, 1807, when he read of them in the *Mexican Gazette*.³⁴ The eleventh question was as to whether he had had any knowledge that Wilkinson was engaged in the plans of Burr. We quote the essential part of his reply to this question:

The orders given by general Wilkinson to me for both my tours of exploration are published in the state papers, or public documents, relative to Burr's trial; and were the only ones, either written or verbal, which I received on the occasion. . . . To the best of my recollection, general Wilkinson never mentioned the name of colonel Burr to me, previous to my meeting him at Washington in October, 1807; except on Burr's halt at Massac, when on his way down the river Ohio, in June 1805. He then spoke to me of him as the late Vice President; a man of talents; and particularly of his valedictory address to the Senate of the United States.

As Pike has a high reputation for veracity, and was here speaking under oath, this testimony is not to be lightly disregarded.

Readers who wish a general survey of the whole course of the relations of Jefferson, Wilkinson and Burr to the various projects of southwestward exploration, cannot do better than to consult a publication of the University of Cincinnati, *The Early Exploration of Louisiana* (Cincinnati, 1906), by Dr. Isaac J. Cox, to whom we are indebted for several valuable suggestions for these introductory notes. ED.

LIST OF THE PAPERS TAKEN FROM PIKE. (TRANSLATION.)³⁵

[Written in the margin: First Secretariat of State. Exterior Department. First Section.]

³³ Copy, possibly unique, in the Library of Congress; pp. 189-193.

³⁴ See *Account*, p. 235 (Coues, p. 652).

³⁵ We believe that, in view of the character of the document, it will be at least as satisfactory to give Professor Bolton's accurate translation of this list as to print the original Spanish. Pike himself gives a version of this inventory (app. to part III., pp. 80-82; Coues, pp. 817-820), and comments on the attempt made in the appended certificate to represent his presentation of the papers as voluntary.

List of the papers which the Lieutenant of Infantry of the United States of America, Pike, leaves at the Superior Government and Commandancy General of the Internal Provinces of New Spain, as relating to the Expedition which he has made from San Luis de Yllinois to the settlements of N. Mexico, for the purpose of visiting the Indian tribes and of exploring the territories and rivers which lie between them, which expedition he has made at the disposition of the government of these United States and under orders from General Wilkinson.

- No. 1. Letter from General Wilkinson to Pike, dated June 24, 1806.
2. Another from the same to Pike, dated July 18, 1806.
3. Another from the same to the said officer, dated the 19th of the same month.
4. Another from the same to Pike, dated August 6, 1806.
5. Letter from Lieutenant Wilkinson to his father, dated October 27.
6. Another from the same to his father, dated the 28th of the said month of October.
7. Letter from Pike to Gen. Wilkinson, dated July 22, 1806.
8. Letter from Lieut. Wilkinson to Lieut. Pike, dated October 26, 1806.
9. Proclamation by Gen. Wilkinson, providing that no citizen of the United States shall deal with the Indian tribes without his permission or that of the governor, dated July 10, 1805.
10. Letter of Ch. Jouett, Indian agent, to General Wilkinson, dated July 10, 1806.
11. Notes, by Lieut. Pike, of his journey from N. Mexico to Chihuahua. A *cuaderno*⁸⁰ with 4 used folios.
12. Rough manuscript draft or sketch of the Misuri and Osages [rivers].
13. Letter from Sergeant Ballinger to General Wilkinson, undated. [This is a mistake. The letter is dated October 26, 1806.]
14. Letter from Lieutenant Wilkinson to Pike, undated.
15. Affidavit in French, of a certain Bautista Lamie, found among the tribes, concerning the reason for his residence among them.
16. A sheet which contains notes in French, for the harangues or declarations which it was provided that Lieut. Pike should make to the Indian tribes.
17. Passport given by Lieut. Pike to the Indian Wind, first chief of the village of the Little Osages.
18. A small rough drawing, on a torn sheet, of lands situated between the Misuri and Santa Fee, with information, acquired in this villa, regarding its population, commerce, etc.
19. A manuscript book, octavo, bound in pasteboard, containing the diary of Lieutenant Pike from January, 1807, to March 2, 1807, when he arrived at Santa Fe, with 75 used folios.

⁸⁰ *Cahier, Heft*, bunch of leaves sewed together. The size, in my judgment, is quarto. H. E. B.

20. A manuscript book, quarto, bound in pasteboard, containing copies of official communications to the Minister of War and to Gen. Wilkinson, and various observations relative to the mission of the said lieutenant, etc., with 67 used folios.
21. A manuscript book, folio, bound in pasteboard, containing various rough maps of lands, rivers, etc., and the general diary, giving directions, distances and observations, written during his explorations and journey by the said Lieutenant Pike, with 40 used folios.

We, Don Francisco Velasco, first official of the Secretariat of the Commandancy General of the Internal Provinces of New Spain, and Don Juan Pedro Walker, Ensign of the Company of Cavalry of the Royal Presidio of Janos, certify: that when the lieutenant of American infantry, Mongomeri Pike, presented himself before Don Nemecio Salcedo, the Señor Commandant General of the said provinces, he presented also a small chest which he carried. This the said officer himself opened in the presence of those who make this affidavit, took from it various books and papers, and, after separating with his own hand, but with our knowledge, all those which appeared to him and were said by him to be of private interest and without any connection with his expedition, delivered to the said Sr. Commandant General the rest, which are solely those contained in the foregoing list which we have made. In witness whereof we make this affidavit in Chihuahua, April 8, 1807.

FRANCISCO VELASCO.

JUAN PEDRO WALKER.

This is a copy. Mexico, November 22, 1827.

ESPINOZA (rubric).

Corrected (rubric).

N.º 1.st

ST. LOUIS, 24 June, 1806.

Sir,

You are to proceed without delay to the Cantonment on the Missouri, where you are to embark the late Osage Captives, and the Deputation, recently returned from Washington, with their presents and Baggage; and are to transport the whole up the Missouri and Osage Rivers to the Town of the Grand Osage.

The safe delivery of this charge at the point of Destination, constitutes the primary object of your expedition; and therefore you are to move with such caution, as may prevent surprize from any hostile Bands and are to repel with your utmost force, any outrage which may be attempted.

st In Pike's hand, but signed by J. A. Wilkinson; quarto, 4 pp. Though these instructions have been printed before (see the introduction), it is thought best to print them here, that they may be easily referred to in connection with the ensuing documents.

Having safely deposited your passengers and their property, you are to turn your attention to the accomplishment of a permanent Peace between the Canzes³⁸ and Osage Nations; for which purpose you must effect a meeting between the Head Chiefs of these Nations: and are to employ such arguments deduced from their own obvious Interests as well as the inclinations, desires, and commands of the President of the United States as may facilitate your purpose and accomplish the end.

A third object of considerable magnitude will then claim your consideration; It is to effect an Interview, and establish a good understanding with the Yai,tans; I,tans; or Camanchees.

For this purpose you must Interest White Hair, of the Grand Osage,³⁹ with whom and a suitable Deputation you will visit the Panis⁴⁰ republic, where you may find Interpreters; and to inform yourself of the most feasible plan, by which to bring the Cammanchees to a Conference.

Should you succeed in this attempt (and no pains must be spared to effect it) you will endeavour to make peace between that distant powerfull nation, and the nations which inhabit the country between us and them, particularly the Osage; and finally you will endeavour to induce eight or ten of their distinguished Chiefs, to make a visit to the seat of Government next September, and you may attach to this deputation four or five Panis and the same number of Canzes chiefs.

As your Interview with the Cammanchees will probably lead you to the Head Branches of the Arkansaw and Red Rivers you may find yourself approximated to the settlements of New Mexico, and therefore it will be necessary you should move with great circumspection, to keep clear of any Hunting or reconnoitring Parties from that Province, and to prevent alarm or offence, because the affairs of Spain and the United States appear to be on the point of amicable adjustment, and moreover it is the desire of the President, to cultivate the Friendship and Harmonious Intercourse of all the Nations of the Earth, and particularly our near Neighbours the Spaniards. In the course of your tour, you are to remark particularly upon the Geographical structure, the Natural History, and population, of the country through which you may pass, taking particular care to collect and preserve specimens of every thing curious in the mineral or botanical Worlds, which can be preserved and are portable: Let your courses be regulated by your compass, and your distances by your Watch, to be noted in a field Book, and I would advise you when circumstances permit, to protract and lay down in a separate Book the march of the Day at every evenings halt.

The Instruments which I have furnished you will enable you to ascertain the Variation of the magnetic needle and the Latitude

³⁸ Kansa.

³⁹ Their principal chief.

⁴⁰ Or Pawnee.

with exactitude, and at every remarkable point I wish you to employ your Telescope in observing the eclipses of Jupiters Satellites, having previously regulated and adjusted your Watch by your Sextant, taking care to note with great niceity the periods of immersion and emersion of the eclipsed Satellite. These observations may enable us after your return, by application to the appropriate Tables, to ascertain the Longitude.—It is an object of much Interests with the Executive, to ascertain the Direction, extent, and navigation of the Arkansaw and Red River's; as far therefore as may be compatible with these Instructions and practicable to the means you may command, I wish you to carry your Views to those Subjects, and should circumstances conspire to favour the enterprize, that you may detach a party with a few Osage to descend the Arkansaw, under the orders of Lt Wilkinson or Serg^t. Ballenger, properly Instructed, and equipt, to take the Courses and distances, to remark on the soil, Timber, etc., and to Note the tributary streams. This Party will, after reaching our Post on the Arkansaw,⁴¹ descend to Fort Adams⁴² and there wait further orders; and you, yourself, may descend the Red River accompanied by a party of the most respectable Commanches to the Post of Natchitoches and there receive further orders from me.

To Disburse you necessary expences and to aid your negotiations, you are here with furnished Six hundred Dollars worth of Goods, for the appropriation of which, you are to render a strict account, vouched by Documents to be attested by one of your Party.

Wishing you a safe and successfull expedition,

I am Sir,
With much Respect and Esteem,
Sir

Your ob^t Ser^t.

JA: WILKINSON (rubric).

Lt. Z. M. Pike.

N.^o 2.⁴³

CANTONMENT⁴⁴

MISSOURI

July 18, 06.

Dear Sir

I have rec d. your letters of yesterday and concerning yr Interpreter without date.⁴⁵ I had taken arrangements to secure Bennette, when he

⁴¹ Now Arkansas Post, Arkansas.

⁴² In S. W. Mississippi.

⁴³ In Wilkinson's hand; octavo, 2 pp.

⁴⁴ Bellefontaine, Missouri, at the mouth of the Missouri River, where in 1805 Wilkinson had founded an important military establishment, maintained till 1825.

⁴⁵ Pike wrote two letters to Wilkinson on July 17, as is shown by his narrative, p. 112 (Coues, p. 361). One he prints; the other related to this affair of the interpreter. Just as he was about to sail from St. Charles, his interpreter,

appeared here and I have now become his security. Manual is a Black Spaniard. He dined here yesterday and left here this morning before the arrival of your letter—this was well for Him.

I have seen too much of the World to fall in love with Strangers, particularly men of fine European and Asiatic languages, found in the wilds of the Missouri—the natural question is, how came so many accomplishments and useful qualities buried alive? Yet no Rule without an exception. But still Henry can gain much of you without being to contribute anything—the association is therefore unequal. If I am Cynical I have cause for it, in the very source of this letter. you must not credit your Red companions, for lying and stealing is their occupation, when unemployed in the chase. They recd. powder, Ball and every thing else from Mr. Tillier—he gave them 28 lbs of Powder. I shall dress Manual and Cadet aussi. I will teach them how to interrupt national movements, by their despicable Intrigues. I wrote you this morning by Hall of the artillery.

My Son has the foundation of a good Constitution but it must be *tempered* by degrees—do not push Him beyond his capacities in hardships to suddenly. He will I hope attempt any thing but let the stuff be hardened by degrees. I have nothing further to add but my blessings and best wishes to you all

JA. WILKINSON (rubric).

Lt Pike

N.º 3^o

CANTONMENT

July 19th 1806.

Dear Sir,

I send after you the Circumferenter and Bark left by Dr. Robinson.⁴⁷ I expect the Bearer may find you at Charette. We have philadel^a. Papers to the 24th ult.^{mo}—not a word of news from Europe. It is reported on vague grounds that Miranda has failed, and it is suggested that France and Spain will demand some retribution for our Countenance of this attempt, but this is a mere party ebullition. I think He will succeed because the British will aid Him.

You will *sée* and *feel* the I,etans before you committ yourselves to them, and you must indeed be extremely guarded with respect to the

Baronet Vasquez, whom Wilkinson apparently calls "Bennette", was maliciously arrested at the suit of Manuel de Lisa, one of the principal Indian traders of the Missouri, who was interested to frustrate the expedition. By "Henry", below, the general means Mr. George Henry. "Called at Mr. James Morrison's and was introduced to a Mr. Henry (of New Jersey), about eight and twenty years of age: he spoke a little Spanish, and French tolerably well: he wished to go with me as a volunteer", and was engaged the next day (Pike, p. 112).

⁴⁷ In Wilkinson's hand; octavo, 3 pp.

⁴⁸ The circumferentor for taking angles; the bark presumably Peruvian bark. Dr. John H. Robinson accompanied the expedition as volunteer surgeon. The failure of Miranda's expedition had occurred on April 28.

Spaniards—neither alarm nor offend them unnecessarily. write me as long as you can by this Route, under cover to the Commanding officer here and address me at Fort Adams. I wish you would send a Runner to the osage from the Panis, after you have taken your measures with the I,e,tans, and transmit me a Sketch of your route, and of the Country before you agreeably to your information. This may be important in providing against a total loss by misfortune—indeed you may send in your Interpreter Mongrain Express, with a letter of general Information to the Secy. of War, to accompany that which I have required above for myself. You may perhaps be able to guess, when I may look for you at Natchitoches. Write this by the return of the express and tell me how you *all* come on. be attentive in forming your Statistical Table of the Population, to give the names of Chiefs as well as Nations and Tribes, exactly after the manner you have adopted with the Secant and Sautieus.⁴⁸ Farewell, my friend, omit nothing to give utility and Importance to your tour, and the sooner you can reach Natchitoches the better, consistently with the necessary investigations.

Your friend and sevt

Lt Pike.

J.A. WILKINSON (rubric).

N.^o 5.⁴⁹

ARKANSAW RIVER

My dear Parent,

27th Oct. 06.

In a few moments I enter by skin canoe to descend the river, and part with Mr. Pike—the prospect is not as favorable as I would wish, but as the Season of the year will admit; and I look forward to a pleasant voyage, tho it may be a tedious one, however I shall have the Satisfaction of handing you a correct survey of the Arkansaw and its waters.

My health is perfectly good, and my greatest care shall be to preserve it. I may now and then be a little wet, but I have a large store of thick winter cloathing, and a warm Tent. My coffee and tea is still on hand, as are all my herbs and medicines, none of which I have as yet used.

You must not look for me Till spring, as I am determined to acquire information of the country adjacent to the river.

Believe me your dutiful and affect. Son

JAMES (rubric).

General Wilkinson.

[Addressed:] General or M.^r Wilkinson

for Lieut. Pike.

Natchitoches

⁴⁸ The table alluded to is that which is inserted after p. 66 of the appendix to part 1. in Pike's *Account*. It presents a variety of data respecting the Indian tribes resident on the upper Mississippi, among which the Tetons and Sauteurs or Leapers were two of the most important.

⁴⁹ In Lieutenant Wilkinson's hand; quarto, 1 p. James Biddle Wilkinson, the general's son, entered the army in 1801, became first lieutenant in 1803, captain in 1808, and died in 1813.

N.^o 6.^{so}

Please to ask Mr. Pike for a Letter
I wrote him on the 27th relative to
the command

ARKANSAW RIVER

28th Oct. 06—

N. L. 37° 44' 25"—

My Dear Sir,

I am now about undertaking a voyage, perhaps more illy equipd than any other Officer, who ever was on command, in point of stores, ammunition, Boats and men.

I have a small skin canoe, of 10 feet in length, with a wooden one of the same length capable to carry one man and his baggage—not more I believe. I have 5 men, whose strength is insufficient to draw up my skin canoe to dry—and which must necessarily spoil. I have no grease to pay the seams of my canoe, and was obliged to use my candles, mixd with ashes, for that purpose. My men have no winter cloathing, and two of them no Blankets. I must necessarily have the men wading half the day, as the water opposite here is not ankle deep. I shall pass the Republican pawnees, the most rascally nation I know—and perhaps meet with the Pawnee pickeés a nation of whom I have considerable apprehension—and meet in the course of 6 or 7 weeks the Osages and Arkansaws.

If I cannot proceed after I march Ten or Twelve days down, I shall cross to the Kaneses, or Osages, who hunt on the streams of the Arkansaw and winter with them.

The river is now full of ice, so much so that I dare not put in my canoes—last night we had a considerable fall of snow. I asked only for 6 men and could not get them.

Believe me, that I sacredly write the truth, with a coolness and deliberation I never before have done, and Believe

me Your sincerely affectionate, tho

Unhappy Son,

JAMES B. WILKINSON (rubric).

[On the back of the letter:]

Lt. Pike will please to give this to
the Genl. only

General James Wilkinson,
Natchitoches

F^{or} Lt. Pike

N.^o 8^{si}

ARKANSAW RIVER

26th Oc^r 1806.

Dr Sir,

Your instructions relating to my descent of the Arkansaw, have

^{so} In Lieutenant Wilkinson's hand; quarto, 1 p.

^{si} In Lieutenant Wilkinson's hand; quarto, 3 pp.

been perused with attention, and as far as is in my power and the means given me, shall strictly be complied with.

Before we separate and perhaps for ever, I have taken the liberty to propose a few questions, relative to the Equipment, and the *Command* you have given me. If you should think this a freedom, inconsistent with the principles of Subordination, or unprecedented, you will please to excuse the error and attribute it to ignorance, not to a want of respect for your Opinion, but to a want of confidence in my own.

1.st Whether do you consider my strength sufficient to enforce a due respect for our national Flag, from the many nations of Savages. I must necessarily meet on the voyage—Or

2. Whether if an appeal to arms is requisite to repel an outrage offered, the efficient force of the Command would enable me to effect it? I speak of an outrage of a few,—for were many to make the attack, the consequence is obvious. Or,

3. Whether greater danger is not to be apprehended from the *Pawnee Pickeés* than any other Nation of Savages in *Louisiana*, not only owing to their intercourse with the Mexicans proper, *but to their friendship* for the Spaniards, who have *regular Factors amongst* them, and whose interest it is, to keep us in ignorance of the intrinsic value of the Salines of the Arkansaw—and which nation I must pass, and may probably see—Or

4. Whether greater danger is not to be apprehended from the meeting *with stragling bands of different nations, inimical to each other, and coursing a tract of country, through which they always make their hostile Sallies*, then meeting a Grand and powerful Nation, within its own undisputed Territory, and headed by its Chieftan.

The pusillanimity of the Republican Pawnees is so well known, that no confidence can be placed in them, and should I meet any of that Nation, I shall calculate their purpose to be villanous and take measures accordingly.

I am of the Opinion that a traverse of the Arkansaw, and a Geographical sketch of the adjacent country, is an object of as much importance to our Executive, as one of Red river, its confluent streams and country, and at the present moment perhaps more so, as Capⁿ. Sparks and other Officers have ascended to its Source, or are now making the Survey.⁵²

To comply with the wish, intention, spirit and letter of the Generals order and your own, I cannot hurry down the river, without making the required observations; but the quantity of *Public ammunition allowed* me, renders it indispensably necessary to use every exertion to expe-

⁵² The expedition under Thomas Freeman and Captain Richard Sparks, for exploring the Red River, had on July 29 been stopped by the Spaniards near the Caddo villages in what is now Little River County, Arkansas; but this was of course unknown to Lieutenant Wilkinson. Cf. Cox, *Early Exploration of Louisiana*, ch. ix.

dite my progress. If any accident should happen to my *shackling* and *patched canoes*, could I form an other with a *common felling ax, and hatchet*, so as to take advantage of the present rise of the water—and what shelter would I have to protect my men from the weather, in case I should winter on the river. You will pardon me Sir, when I say, Justice would *give 5 men one Tent*, in preference to giving 13 men three, when 12 are allowed 2 only.

You will excuse me Sir, when I observe, that your reflections, when at the source of red river, would be more pleasant, when you considered, that by the gift of a *Broad ax, adz and drawing knife* (of which you have two and *more setts*) you prevented a Friend and Brother soldiers wintering without stores or anything comfortable, altho you might be detained a few days longer, than you would, had you refused those articles. I will conclude with observing, that if you *would add Stout*⁵³ to my command (who you informed me is a ruff carpenter) I should not anticipate the difficulties I now do, or dread wintering without cabbins, and should feel satisfied within my own mind of the possibility of effecting every thing required.

For the many marks of Friendship I have experienced during our march, receive Sir my most sincere thanks, and wishes for your happiness and prosperity.

With Sentiments of high respect, esteem and attachment
I remain

Your obd. Ser^t.

Lieut. Z. M. Pike

JAMES B. WILKINSON Lt. (rubric).

[On the back of this letter is the following:]

On the Inclosed letter I will only remark that I furnished a Tent, Broad Ax, Adz and Drawing Knife and that Lt. Wilkinson had with him 19 lb powder 39 lb Lead and Ball, with 4 Doz. Cartridges, when my whole party had not more than 35 lb of powder, 40 lb of Lead and 10 Doz Cartridges: also that one of his men was a Carpenter by profession and another a mill wright. As to His observations as it respects the Indians, they require a different Notice.

PIKE.

[Address:] Lieut. Z. M. Pike
Present.

N.^o 9.⁵⁴

*By The Governor and Superintendent of Indian affairs in and over
The Territory of Louisiana*

A PROCLAMATION

All persons are hereby prohibited, ascending the Missouri River

⁵³ Freegift Stoute, private, was with Pike throughout the whole of his expedition, from St. Louis to Natchitoches.

⁵⁴ Signed by General Wilkinson, but written by another; quarto, 1 p. On the back there are a few calculations of meridional altitude, and other figuring in (probably) Pike's hand-writing.

into the Indian Country, or the Mississippi River above the present Settlements, with intentions to enter any of its Western branches, or to trade with the natives on its right bank, But by permission under my hand, as they may desire to avoid the pains and penalties authorized by a Law of Congress of the 30th of March 1802, Intitled an Act, "to Regulate trade and Intercourse with the Indian tribes, and to preserve peace on the Frontiers."

Done at S.^t Louis, this tenth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and five.

JA. WILKINSON (rubric).

N.^o 10.⁸⁶

CHICAGO 10th July 1806—

Sir,

I have this day been informed that the same party of Indians who struck on the osages last fall, contemplate attacking them early this season, the informant States that they are to set out in the first of next month, headed by an Indian of the name of Mionesse. This information may enable your Excellency to circumvent the party or give Such notice of it to the Osages as will put them in a defensive Posture.

The Potowatomies are extremely troublesome and insolent to passengers and particularly this town party who reside on the Illinois near the Prairies.

I am very respectfully,

Sir Your Obed^t Serv.^t

(Signed) CH. JOUETT I. A.

Genl. James Wilkinson

[Endorsed:] From C. Jouett to Gen.^l Wilkinson

July 10th, 1806.

N.^o 11.⁸⁶

March 3, 1807. St Afee.⁸⁷ Dined with th Gov etc. etc. Escorted

⁸⁶ Copy, in hand similar to that of no. 9; quarto, 1 p. Charles Jouett was Indian agent at Chicago. This letter was enclosed in no. 4, Wilkinson to Pike, August 6, 1806. In that communication, not here reprinted, Wilkinson says, "In consequence of the receipt of the inclosed letters, I have thought proper to send you an express, to enable you to announce to the Osage the designs of their enemies, that they may take seasonable measures to circumvent them."

⁸⁶ In Pike's hand, on small rough-edged sheets sewn together; 7 pp. This paper may be regarded as the raw material for Pike's printed narrative from March 4 to April 1, *Account*, pp. 214-236 (Coues, pp. 611-655). The dates, from March 3 to March 25 inclusive, are one day less than those in the printed narrative.

⁸⁷ Santa Fé. Governor Alencaster's report of April 1, 1807, to Salcedo concerning the finding and detention of Pike and Robinson was found by Colonel James F. Meline in the archives of New Mexico, then much more complete than now, and was printed in his *Two Thousand Miles on Horseback* (New York, 1867), pp. 241-245. His English translation of it is reprinted in Coues's *Pike*, pp. xlvii, xlviii.

oute in his coach. Bad road; arrived at [blank]⁵⁸ with Captn. D. Almansa and Bartholemew.

March 4. Snowing. Did not march until 11oc. Arrived at D. Domingo.⁵⁹ m. Gov.^r etc. Church etc.

5 Mar. Down th R. D. N. pass th vill of D Phillips. The curate etc. Bridge, from th. to th village of D. Deis where we encamped for the night.⁶⁰

6 M. Pass a Cf not badly cul^d. Dine at Albuquerque etc. Met the Doc.^r ⁶¹ at a small village where we staid all night.

March 7. Passd Toussac⁶² to th village of Ferdinand where we met Lt. Malgares, etc. etc.

March 8. To The Camp of D M. the sound discipline of th Troops.

March 9. To Sibilletta—regular and th Last village before th enter th desert. Much Talk of th Appaches.

March 10. Down the River 13 or 14m. Good Land.

M. 11. Marched at 11 oc. Met the Carravan from Ler [or, Ser.] Dis. 32 m.

12 M. Continued our route Down th river. Manner of posting Centinel etc.

13 M. at 10oc Continued our route passed the place where th road leaves th river. We continue to follow it. M. Juan Christopher.⁶³ crossd to th west side.

14 Sunday. 28 miles—road rough and stoney.

15. Passd a large trail of Horses. The Militia of N. M.

16. Recrossd the river to the east side.

17. First sign of the Appaches etc. vegetation commences.

18. Struck the main road which we Had left on 1^t. its Gen^l Course S.

19. Made aboute 20 m prepared to enter Passa⁶⁴ tomorrow.

⁵⁸ Cienega. Of his companions the first was Captain Antonio d'Almansa, who escorted him till March 8 and then gave him over into the charge of his permanent escort, Don Facundo Malgares; the second, Don Bartolomé Fernandez, who had brought him in from his stockade to Santa Fé.

⁵⁹ San Domingo. The details of the things which Pike notes as remarkable, such as the church of this little village, may be followed in his printed narrative, as explained by Coues.

⁶⁰ Rio del Norte (Rio Grande); San Felipe; Sandia.

⁶¹ Dr. Robinson, whose adventures since his detachment from Pike's party on the headwaters of the Rio Grande may be read in Pike.

⁶² Tousac is perhaps Pajarito; Ferdinand is San Fernandez; Lieutenant Don Facundo Malgares had just made a brilliant cavalry expedition to the northward visiting the Pawnees and seeking for Pike's party. "D M." in the next item means "Don Malgares".

⁶³ Monte del Fray Cristobal.

⁶⁴ El Paso; not the present town of that name in Texas, but one on the opposite or Mexican side of the river, now called Ciudad Juarez. The meaning of the next passage is that the party put up at the house of Don Francisco Garcia, a rich merchant and planter, while Don Pedro Roderique Rey was lieutenant-governor of the place.

20. Arrived at Passa, and put up at th H. of D. F. Garcia. Lt. Com.⁴ Rey, prest L. Paaso. remaind there until th 22 when we marchd to the Fort of Eleciair⁶⁵ about 16 m. lower Down on th river. The Industry of the Inhabitants. Vinyards, Canals, etc. etc.

25. Left Elecia and marchd to The Mal Aukah⁶⁶ where we Encampd. Good water.

26. To the Fountain of Lothario.⁶⁷ miserable water. We now had left the pro. of N. Mexico and enterd that of Biscay. Dissertation on the former, as to population etc. etc.

27. To the Fort of Carracol.⁶⁸ Com. Pedro Rues Saramunde.

28. To the spg of Warm Water. elegant situatn etc. etc.

29. Marchd 30 m and encampd without water. windy and disagreeable.

30. Marchd 20m. and arrivd at a spring on th side of the mt. and Elegant situ—This Day saw Con.¹ cabrie.⁶⁹ Encampd at night withoute wood or water.

31. M. early and arrived at a spring at 10 oc. th road to Senora etc. etc. arrived at Night at the village Encenelias⁷⁰ where we slept. the Labour of the Criminals etc. etc.

1 Ap.¹ Marchd and Halted at Saus. the bands of sheep and cattle. encampd near Chiwawa. [ditto] at the House calld the red House. 52 m.

N.^o 13.⁷¹

My General

I am now at Arcances River in perfect Health and good Spirits. am about to descend that river with your son. we shall find much difficulty owing to the waters being very Low but we will persevere and be successful. I sold the articles I Rec.⁴ at Cold Water to the Men for about \$170 Dollars. \$93.25 Cents of the acts⁷² I have sent by Lieut Pike. If He arrives before I doo and the Men draw there pay he will Receive the amt for me and leave it with you In case he starts before my arrival. the Men who go with your son I have not sent on the acts of, as I shall be at Camp as soon as they are. Mr Pike got from me to amt \$29.50 cents which is Included in James Draft on you. If Mr Pike should go on to the States before the men Receive there pay I trust you will Receive my act from him and Draw the amt from the Paymaster for me. I want to make some Money for you and my

⁶⁵ Fort San Elizario.

⁶⁶ Ojo de Malayuque.

⁶⁷ Ojo de Lotario. From this point the dates agree with those in the printed narrative.

⁶⁸ Carrizal. The commandant was Don Pedro Ruiz Saramende.

⁶⁹ Antelopes.

⁷⁰ Encinillas. The party arrived at Chihuahua on April 2.

⁷¹ In Ballinger's hand; octavo, 1 p.; no punctuation.

⁷² Accounts.

self boath the Insuing spring and Summer by Trading Horses. more of this when I see you. Yrs truly

J BALLINGER

26th Octr 1806

[Addressed:] His Excellency James Wilkinson,
Governor of U. Louissianna
Natchitoches

Fav.^a by
Lieut Pike

N.° 14.⁷³

Dear Pike,

The indians were anxious to go on the other side, but *when I mentioned by your order, that the distance on this side was not much longer, and perhaps more safe*, they [said] they would march on this side. they are extremely uneasy about the Sacks, Kaos and poos, from information given them by some damd rascal or other, and have generally complained to me of the Danger. I merely observed that all Indians who meant to do them wrong would have to destroy all of us before they got to them. I caught a half f[torn] Indian talking with the chiefs, and told him if he impressed their minds with the fear of any Indians who were waiting for them on the river, I would crop his ears off *as close as a hogs ever was*. The chiefs entreat to cross the river to talk to a friend of theirs at St Charles—they ought not to talk unless in your presence, as improper stories might be told them, and you know *Bad birds* are flying about.

Fire three Guns when you want me to strike our tents and join you.

A man some hours since informed me 1500 Savages were encamped higher [torn]. I told him it was a lie raised by some damd rascal. Yours in heart and soul

JAMES

[Addressed:] Lieutenant Z. M. Pike,
Vis a vis (rubric).

N.° 15.⁷⁴

personally came before me Baptiste Duchouquette als Lamie of S^t Louis Territory of Louisiana and after being sworn to the truth of his declaration made the following Statement, Viz.

⁷³ In Lieutenant Wilkinson's hand; small octavo, 2 pp. This letter must have been written about July 19 or 20, 1806, at the very beginning of the expedition, when for a few days Pike had detached Wilkinson to proceed by land across a bend of the Missouri.

⁷⁴ Signed by Pike, but written by another; quarto, 1 p.; almost no punctuation. On arrival at the village of the Grand Osages, August 19, Pike had found there a party of three men from St. Louis, headed by Jean Baptiste Duchouquette, usually called Baptiste Lamie, who had been sent there by Manuel de Lisa. Pike sent Lieutenant Wilkinson to demand to see his passports, or, if he had none, to bring him to camp, which was done. Finding that he could substantiate

je sertifie que je ne sui icy que pour un Recouvrement de quelque dette due a Mon sieur Lisa Manuelle par des ChasSeurs Et que Monsieur Manuel Dillisa Et venue Mangage a la bitation⁷⁶ pour faire ce reCouvrement a mon Retoure de la Nouvelle orlean le 20 de Juillet Et que j'ai partie le premier du Out pour venir icy avec un Canoz armés de deux hommes, lun se nome joseph Rives et lotre Calixe Montardie. Nous ne portion que nos vivre nessicaire pour le voyage Et deux lettres quatre Carotte de tubac un peti Baril de Tafia pour le chef des Cheveux Blanc. Et il ma dit de faire dire par Noille Mongrain quil a lait venir sou bien peut de tème avec Bau Coupe⁷⁷ de Marchandisse avec M. Silveste Labadie. un malheur inprevue mais fait perdre tous Ce que j'an portai. En passon de Sour une anbaras je Nai puis⁷⁸ sauver que ma carabin. montrouvent de pour vue⁷⁹ de tous les petis nessaire du voyage j'ai pris le partie daCheté de Monsieur Mccellan une couverte deux livres de poudre une chodier quatre livre de Balle pour continuer mon voyage, que j'ai asi bien reussi en catorze jour, Et la quinzième je fus arette par un officier que ma demandez mon pasport. ne pouvent pas luis presenter je prete serment comme quoi tous ce que je die est la verité et pure verite. faite aux Camps du Lt. Pike ce 21 aouts 1806.

Je declare ne savoir signer. je fait ma marque ordinaire dune Croix.

Marque de X BAPTISTE LAMIE
DE CHEUQUETTE

Baronay Vasques

temoin

Sworn to before me at Camp Independence Near the Osage Nation
21 Aug.^t 1806.

Z. M. PIKE, Lt
1 US Reg.^t Infy.

Duplicate

Z. M. Pike

[On reverse side of sheet:]

Nul present dois etre Satisfait

N.^o 16^o

Mes frères,

Avant de vous parler moi-même je vous donnerai une parole de votre père qui est à S.^t Louis, qui est adressé aux cheveux blancs, mais qui regarde beaucoup à toute la nation osage.

nothing more criminal against him than his having entered the Indian boundaries without a passport (see no. 9), Pike detained him long enough to alarm him, then took his deposition, and sent a copy of it to St. Louis that the three might be prosecuted. (Pike, pp. 127, 128, app. to part II., p. 41.) Noel Maugrain, mentioned in the deposition, was the resident interpreter at the Grand Osage village.

⁷⁶ Est venu m'engager à l'habitation.

⁷⁷ Qu'il allait venir sous bien peu de temps avec beaucoup.

⁷⁸ M'a fait . . . en portai. En passant au dessus d'un embarras je n'ai pu.

⁷⁹ M'en trouvant dépourvu.

⁷⁹ Signed by Pike, but written by another; quarto, 3 pp. Talk delivered by

ici la parole du Gèneral. * * * ⁸⁰

Mes frères,

Vous voyez par la parole de votre père que je vous donne à present, qu'il ne desire pas que vous restiez tranquille, quand vos ennemies viennent vous tuer, mais que vous soyez prêts a detruire ceux qui veulent vous faire du mal.

Mes frères,

Pour cette raison Je suis d'avis que vous deviez envoyer des espions sur le Missouri, et si vous trouvez que vos ennemies s'approchent, soyez de bon coeur, faites un ambuscade et detruisez les.

Mes frères,

Ce n'est que de se defendre, Ce n'est pas daller aux villages de vos ennemies pour tuer leurs femmes et leurs enfans, qui sont innocens.

Mes frères,

Vous voyez par cette dernière parole, aussi bien que par le rachete-ment de vos femmes et de vos enfans de la captivité, combien l'amitié de votre pere amèricain est sincère.

Mes frères,

Vous nous voyez ici. nous avons étés envoyés pour garder vos enfans, que nous avons racheté, jusqu'à votre nation. Nous l'avons faits. Outre ceci J'ai des ordres à faire la paix entre votre nation et les Kans, qui ont envoyés dire a votre père à S.^t Louis qu'ils desirent et qu'ils sont prêts a faire la paix avec les Osages.

Mes frères,

Les homme sage doivent savoir que la paix vaut mieux que la guerre, et si vous etiez en paix avec toutes les nations nous n'enten-drions pas la voix de la douleur chez vous mais celle de la Joye.

Mes frères,

Pour réussir dans cette affaire votre Grandpère à Washington a ordonné à votre père a S.^t Louis, de faire comme il lui semblera mieux.

Mes frères,

Ainsi il m'a ordonné de faire rencontrer les osages avec les Kans, pour fumer la pipe de la paix, pour mettre la casse tête dans la terre, et pour etre comme la meme nation.

Mes freres,

Pour cette raison Je demande que quelques de vos chefs et de vos guerriers m'accompagnent à la rèpublique des Panis, D'où J'enverrai cherchi les Kans.

Mes freres,

Quand vous serez chez les panis, vous et les Kans seront sur la him on August 22 (*Account*, p. 129) to the Great and Little Osages, at his camp between the villages of the two.

⁸⁰ Evidently the talk which Wilkinson enclosed for the purpose in his letter of August 6. Pike, app. to part II., p. 38 (Coues, p. 574). Under August 7 Pike notes, "I employed myself part of the day in translating into French a talk of General Wilkinson to the Cheveux Blanche" [*sic*].

terre d'une nation etranger [*neutre* interlined], et l'un n' aura pas peur de l'autre, et par consequence la paix que vous ferez sera forte et Sincere.

Mes freres,

Vous pouvez rencontrez aussi quelques des Maitons ou Comanches, et J'espère faire la paix entre eux et vous.

Mes freres,

Je desire aussi que deux ou trois de vos guerriers descendront la riviere des Akansas, avec une partie de mes guerriers, au village de la grand Peste,^a pour lequel J'ai une parole de votre père a S.^t Louis

Mes freres,

L'on a dit a votre père a S.^t Louis que les gentes du Grand peste ont tués des françois, et qu'ils ont volés leurs chevaux.

Mes freres,

La grand Peste et son peuple ne sont ils pas Osage, si ils le sont pourquoi font-ils la guerre contre les enfans de votre Grand père.

Mes freres,

Si la parole que votre Grand pere a S^t Louis envoit par moi pour la grand peste, et que je desire être accompagné de quelques de vos guerriers, n' ouvre pas ses oreilles, votre grand père l'abandonera, et ne veut plus que lui et sa nation soient ses enfans, mais souffrira que ses guerriers blancs et rouges levent la casse tête contre lui.

Mes freres,

Vous qui avez été dans les étas unis, savent bien quelle hospitalité vous avez éprouvé, et que tout vous étoit accordé ce que vous avez souhaité. Nous sommes venûs, apresent vous demander à nous accompagner pour retour, et Je vous demande des chevaux pour aller d'ici chez les panis, d'oû quelques de vos guerriers peuvent les ramener chez vous encore.

Mes freres,

Je desire que quelqu-uns de vous m'accompagneront pendant tout mon voyage, et vous ferez connaissance avec les nations rouges qui sont à l'ouest, et vous verrez sur le Mississipi d'en bas votre Grand pere de S^t Louis qui vous recompensera de votre fidelité.

Mes freres,

Je me suis adressé à tous les deux villages comme s'ils etaient le même, comme c'est la volonté de votre Grand père. il vous voit comme la même nation, faites conseil ensemble et soyez forts.

J'ai parlé.

Mes freres,

Nous allons faire un long voyage. quand nous sommes avec les osages, nous nous croyons chez nous, et vous etes practie [*sic*] de la parte de votre père.

Je n'ai pas apporté des dons pour vous, mais comme preuve de notre estime, Je vous donne jusqu'au dernier goutte de notre whiskey, un peu de tabac, et quelques choses pour garder en souvenir de cette journée.

^a Grande Peste was, apparently, a chief of those Osages who lived on the Arkansas River.

N.^o 17.⁸²

This is to Certify that the Bearer (The Wind) the first chief of the Little Osage, and the Indians who accompany him, are of that nation—either captives lately redeemed or chiefs returning from the City of Washington; and who are immediately under the protection of the United States: I do therefore request all persons, to give them every proper assistance, and protection; and not to throw any let or hindrance, in their Way.

ST CHARLES,

17 July, 1806.

Z. M. PIKE, Lt. (rubric).

N. B. They will be met on the River above by the party of troops under my command, and should they have offended or Injured, any person by application to me they shall receive ample satisfaction.

Z. M. PIKE.

[On back of No. 18.]⁸³

From S^t Afee to the two chief mountains the Spaniards drive carts and exchange necessities for Buffalo and dried meat*. there are three villages between the mountains and S. Afee, all parallel. the population civilized Mexicans.—Same f 1797. We left the Great Panis on the river platte with 48 chiefs and warriors to attend a treaty with the Camanches (or Ietans) at the two chief mountains. the country level and without wood, except on or near the water courses. The surface being covered with snow; in some places neither wood nor water for 70 or 80 m. We started [started] with 80 and odd Horses and brought back 18. 11 Indis. only held out to the end of the Journey. The Prairie is high and Dry with short Grass in summer.—met upwards of 3000 Ietans. They are short wellset men all with long Hair. The women are close cropt and are remarkable ugly and filthy. The whole were on Horse back, and are armed with Bows, arrows, and Lances. their Saddles are made of skin and wood with wooden stirrups, but they procure some Bridles from the Spaniards. they are Erratic raise no corn and have no fixed residence. they hunt only for Buffaloe robes, which is their only dress except a Breech cloute which they procure from the Spaniards, tho many of the men are quite Naked. The women are covered with a Buffaloe robe tied round their necks.

⁸² In Pike's hand; octavo, 1 p. The Wind's native name was Tuttasuggy.

⁸³ These notes are in Pike's hand.